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23 January 1956

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

VIA: Deputy Director (Plans)

SUBJECT: Recent Khrushchev Speeches

Reed

1. Attached hereto are quotations from the following:

(a) ~~Khrushchev's impromptu speech at the Kremlin dinner for the East German Delegation on 17 September 1955.~~

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2. I recall that some weeks ago you expressed particular interest in that portion of the 17 September speech which contained the proverb about the "shrimp learning to whistle." At that time no authentic version of these remarks was available. Both of the attached papers contain a number of other interesting quotations and are, I believe, the most complete and accurate versions available to us of

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Khrushchev's Speech at Dinner for
East German Delegation

Underlining that the Communists do not seek to convert by force, Khrushchev said, "Go your way, then, since you don't see that it is the route of the blind. We will continue to follow the path of Marx-Engels-Lenin, which is as clear as a sunny day.

"Victory is for Socialism. We do not need to make war to achieve it. Peaceful rivalry will suffice. We will see who is right. If you think that your regime is not too old and antiquated, if you think that it is capable of taking the lead, then go ahead and compete.

"But truth is on the side of the people. We do not depend upon your love or on your hate. We will follow our own path."

Bringing up the negotiations with Adenauer, he said, "We negotiated honestly, and firmly. But our word is also firm. Written or not, our word is law.

"But for whom is the future? Is it Adenauer who is on the road to the future? We advised him openly that the way he has chosen leads to the tomb of Capitalism. But the way chosen by the DDR is that which leads into the future.

"Can anyone wonder why the Bolsheviks are so sincere and unveil all their secrets? Perhaps they are imprudent, or, in any case, not diplomats. However, we are very 'diplomatic' because our diplomacy is that of the people. It's all to the good for the people to know more and more about our line of conduct.

"Gentlemen of the bourgeois press: When you insult us you set us in the path of glory," Khrushchev said, to applause, recalling the words of Gogol (?) that when a Capitalist praises you, ask yourself immediately what stupid thing you have done. "Probably we have made no blunder because the bourgeois press does not praise us."

Returning to Adenauer: "We are happy with the results of the conferences. But we told Adenauer honestly: 'Your star is growing pale. It is the star of Capitalism. The star of Socialism has only just broken through, but it will soon burn with a thousand fires.'"

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Khrushchev asked for the floor immediately after the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Calling Bulganin "my friend and comrade", Khrushchev said that he shared his opinion completely. "But he is Chairman of the Council of Ministers, an official personage, and I, I am Secretary of the Central Committee and therefore a 'private' man in the State."

Bulganin intervened: "That's our first divergence".

Khrushchev continued: "The newsmen will certainly not fail to talk about that.

"In the West they often say in speaking about the Soviet leaders that something has changed since the Geneva Conference; that the Soviet leaders are beginning to smile but don't really change their line of conduct very much. I am going to cause some to rejoice and sadden others, for the situation is such in the world of today that one cannot please everyone. Some say that Capitalism and the system of private property is the best regime; others foresee the era of Socialism which will become that of Communism. I repeat that no orator can please everyone.

"And I should say that the Geneva Conference was a great piece of work. We have a great deal of respect for Messrs. Eisenhower, Eden, Faure (Bulganin gestures with his finger), but we do not honor less our true friends. And my great friend Bulganin.

"They say that the Soviet delegates smile. This smile is a true smile. It is not artificial. We wish to live in peace, quietly, but if someone thinks that our smiles involve the abandonment of the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin, they are making a grave mistake. Those who expect it might just as well wait for a shrimp to learn to whistle (Russian proverb).

"We are honest men and we tell the truth to both friends and foes.

"We are in favor of coexistence. We are also in favor of building Communism. We are in favor of coexistence only because two systems exist: Capitalism and Socialism. . .

"In a number of countries, leaders who are not Communists proclaim that they want to build Socialism. This proves that Socialism is becoming the dream of all the peoples. Let us drink

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to that which is new, to the men who follow this path, showed by Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin," said Khrushchev, associating the name of Stalin with the other great Marxists for the first time in his speech. "Our enemies may not respect Lenin-Marx-Engels-Stalin but they cannot overthrow history. History does not bend itself to the will of the historian; it follows its own way."

Recalling that such is the path followed by the DDR, Khrushchev said, "It is a true and tested way. It matters little that the DDR is not recognized by a number of bourgeois countries. Comrades Grotewohl and Ulbricht, don't be discouraged. America did not recognize us for 16 years but we managed to stay in existence all the same", said Khrushchev, enumerating the popular democracies, North Korea, and "also a country, I don't know if you know it, China.

"The time will come when they will come knocking at your door in order to recognize you and then it will be for you to decide whether or not it's worth the trouble. Without being recognized by those who do not wish to recognize you, you may still exist very well indeed.

"I drink to those remarkable people, the Germans, with whom we have twice been at war. I drink to the Germans, the best Germans, who understand that it is better not to bear arms but to live in friendship. I propose a toast to those who follow the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin."

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